565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
[567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dag Rali would have found in Atakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dag Rali still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dag Rali pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the
651 aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dag Rali are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They
233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to
556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans
439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation
241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess
● 423 lands at Ilaman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abalessa, Iglen, Tafarit, I-n-Amegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Taitok.

173 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they
631 were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăîtok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[65] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him. They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

[648 669] They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

[233] The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats.
[651] Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated
[423 241] land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them, and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ărokam, Serouanout, and in the Ănahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 [181] The Aï't Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglân.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddîn pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the amĕnokal.

[162] To the Relaiddîn must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others.

Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[312] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenatên. -- The Ibettenatên are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazéra, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] amĕnokal.

The Ibettenâten probably descended from Kel Ăfella Iforâ on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but

162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Ădrar des Iforâs, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadĕl camp in Aïr.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 [669] They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaŧa.

565 644 631 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe." They are said to be [184] [241] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 [162] They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhalra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

[24] 423 Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers of Tîgeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

563 631 The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is synonymous with "mixed," were probably from Arab fathers and Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tafedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tafedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Amegal, Déhine, and Abézou.

Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tafedest. -- The Kel Tafedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Aseksem, Amegid, and the Adrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tafedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tafedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immidir. -- The Kel Immidir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hada and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immidir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 467] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[164] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Arak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoulet. -- The Kel Tazoulet or Dag el Mesk camp in [162 233] the Tazoulet region and near Tazerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness [132] of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tazerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Ait Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 788] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

175 back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of
631 the men, including Azioüel, died of thirst in the desert.
643

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

579 At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the
631 suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and
[648] more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

[511] Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of
631 their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the
651 nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Ifŏras, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknăten of the Aïr.

[162 Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400
233] camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at
175 first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave
631 us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his
648 Imrad Kel I-n-Toŭnîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

[423] Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastăn.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

[162] In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there
[233] were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
[241] goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin,
•423] Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

[173] The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren. They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

631
[173] 1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given to Moussa ag Âmastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Âmastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
184 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
343 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
423 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their
251 goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[586] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[23] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

[177 More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
326 of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make. They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
●423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

177 241 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 241 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first cultivated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in [427 651] the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden. The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

241 427 Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance, [312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311 312] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir [241] /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

293 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[192] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the amenokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tiousse comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

1: Lhote--114 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
685 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

patrilineal elements being present together in a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

Land Tenure and Tribute. The Amenokal of the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from that of the President of the United States.

The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs under him collect tribute from those whose destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

[427]

565 651 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

651 Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in recent years, for the Amenokal together with his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

651 178

Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class System. 233 All Saharan nomads live primarily off their livestock, and livestock lives off pasturage. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

137

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

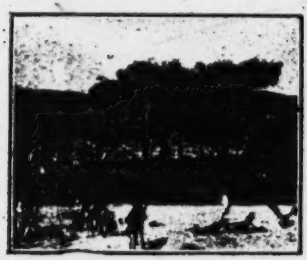
As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
233 their environment that we find the roots of
463 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
182 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of mediæval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556 565
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]



Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" ⁝⁝⁝

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

[764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient
Grave in the Chouchat Form
(Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer, for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakrak, and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them [423] untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Agg Elkher, in his second period of reign. He is very old, and the French consider his son the actual representative of the group. [175] 634

On the ceremonial installment of a drum-chief in the past I have gathered conflicting information. People of the noble Kel Ferouan clan claim that the drum-chief should be installed by a vassal Tuareg of the group, who appointing the chief would wrap a new veil or a turban around his head. But there are many vassals who say that a drum-chief should be installed in this way by the Sultan, and that [643] in the past when dissatisfied with a drum-chief they would ask permission of the Sultan to dismiss him. I believe that this latter statement is officially correct, but it is possible that in the 19th century Kel Ferouan drum-chiefs as the most powerful chiefs of Air were installed by vassals.

The drum-chief should sanction the election of all chiefs of clans belonging to his group. He should install them ceremoniously providing them with a veil as at his own installation. When a vassal chief was installed in this way he should give a camel to the drum-chief. At present when the Kel Ferouan drum-chief has little [431] authority while the Sultan has gained prestige and power, the instalment of a vassal [178] chief may be undertaken by the Sultan, but this is against traditional rules. 614 634

In the past the drum-chief was considered the true owner of the land inhabited by his vassals. The drum-chief, it is said, would allot a particular area to each clan of vassals, but members of a vassal clan were not allowed to defend their territory against other vassals of the same group, as all land belonged to the drum-chief. 423 634 565

The drum-chief had the right to half of the bride-wealth *(taggalt)*, or one camel, from any vassal marriage, and he should receive or inherit a camel at any death among his vassals. These payments seem to have been the true marks of vassalship, but the vassals had many other obligations towards their drum-chief. 565 634 651 [583]

One of the very important functions of the drum-chief was his position as the war-leader of the whole Kel Ferouan group. In battle the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg with the drum-chief would keep behind the vassals who formed the true soldiers of the group. The drum-chief would lead the battle and he alone could decide on war and peace. It was also his right to undertake the division of war-booty for which there were three distinct terms:— 634 701 634 727

1) *Temargedas*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the drum-chief. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g. riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the drum-chief while the other half should be given to the vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that one seventh of the booty should go to the drum-chief.

2) *Teouit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the Kel Ferouan group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the drum-chief would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

It is said that in the 19th century all Tuareg groups of Air and adjacent regions paid an annual tribute to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as follows:-

Kel Ooui	50 Tuareg veils
Kel Fadei	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two groups each giving 3 oryx hides
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Ioullemmeden	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergou Katsena	An amount of millet

The Tuareg name for these payments is *toouse* meaning "annual tribute". The present drum-chief says that this tribute was given by the groups because all land belonged to the Kel Ferouan group. I think that the correctness of this is perhaps to be doubted, and that there may be other possible explanations:- 1) The payments may at some remote date have been made to the Sultan (Amenokal), but later collected by the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became more important or, more possibly 2) they may have been given to the drum-chief for protection. Thus annual duties, termed *tioute* by the Northern Tuareg, were formerly given by foreign Tuareg groups to mighty chiefs of Ahaggar to avoid raids (cf. p. 113).

The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg claim that in the remote past the whole drum-group of Kel Fadei including its noble clan paid bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief as his vassals. This vassalship of the Kel Fadei is said to have ceased in the following way:- The Kel Ferouan drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a Kel Fadei camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the Kel Ferouan drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the Kel Fadei camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the Kel Fadei. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the Kel Fadei so that after a time he could return safely to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the Kel Fadei Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the Kel Ferouan.

The political system of the Kel Ferouan group may be characterized as simple, all political rights resting in the hands of the drum-chief. He had no particular ministers or deputies, but he would discuss important matters with noble Tuareg of his camp and with the chiefs of vassal clans.

It has been mentioned above that the Kel Akarra clan in the past had one

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aɣouh-en-Tehele Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aɣouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey
KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aɣouh-en-Tehele clan.	Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.	

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loalen, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aɣouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aɣouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aɣouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aɣouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 138), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(share-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:–

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p. 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murderer. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French administration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Ṛela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Ṛela group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-scale raiding.

439 /66 cont./ girls. The return of the millet caravans is the major event of the year. It is estimated that the millet imported from the Sudan constitutes two-thirds of the Tuareg's food. Once in the Ahaggar, the millet is stored in silos made of clay bricks, based on rock slabs so as to be protected from termites. These constructions, neither cylindrical nor conical, are a curious sight standing near the camps or the villages. The owners are sometimes absent, but no one tries to steal what could easily be taken.

Agriculture

423 [643] The chief characteristic of the land system in the Ahaggar is that the amenokal is, by virtue of his office, the sole owner of the land.

[651] Whoever wants to drill a foggara must first ask permission of the amenokal and must pay him a tax of ten kilograms of wheat per garden.

The garden is the unit of cultivation. One foggara irrigates from /67/ six to ten gardens. Any other surface unit would have no meaning since the size of the cultivated plot depends on the flow of the foggara, which varies according to the year and to the different agricultural centers. At Tamanrasset a foggara waters 3.80 hectares; at Tit, 3.30 hectares; at Ideles, 4.0 hectares. A garden's area, then, varies from 40 to 60 ares. The wheat harvest may amount to 400 kilograms per hectare; the tax in that case is about one-[651] fortieth of the harvest. Whether the owner of the garden is a Targui or a hartani, the tax (mek) is paid to the amenokal.

Trees planted in the gardens remain the property of the amenokal, for they are attached to the ground.

This inalienable possession of the land by the amenokal has enabled the Tuareg to conserve the rare cultivable lands in the Ahaggar. The force of their tribal custom saves them from their individual lack of foresight. Unfortunately, this right of the amenokal retards agricultural evolution and the maximum productive use of the lands of the Ahaggar, because the cultivator can never own the land he works. He has no

423 /67 cont./ interest in planting trees that he cannot keep. A constant effort at arboriculture cannot be hoped for since the gardener may change frequently, and the successor of a tree planter may be ignorant or unscrupulous and is free to let the planting fail.

423 631 486 Besides the cultivated land, the land through which routes pass has great importance in the Ahaggar. The whole of the territory of the Kel Ahaggar has always been divided among the different Tuareg tribes. Strictly applied oral regulations define the rights and servitudes of a tribe concerning its land.

1) Passage through and watering on the lands of a tribe is the right of other Tuareg.

2) No one may sojourn on the lands of a tribe without the consent of that tribe's chief.

3) Whoever follows travelers' routes through land belonging to a tribe is responsible for any damage caused by him or his animals to the trees, wells, foggaras, gardens, and game. Here are several penalties: one goat for a broken tree branch; [685] one sheep for damage caused /68/ by a poorly watched herd; a camel for damage caused by camels; part or all of any game killed. When a camel runs away, the owner is not responsible; he must even be told and helped. It is forbidden to put animals in a pasture where plants have not attained maximum growth.

4) The amenokal may sometimes authorize tribes to sojourn on the lands of a certain tribe, in case there is an abundance of pasturage on these lands.

The servitudes of the tribes are the normal consequence of their nomadic life, but the rights concerning the land passed through bring to light a characteristic of the Tuareg: their love of the land. These nomads, who should seek the most abundant pastures, whose every interest calls them toward the Sudan, remain attached to their soil. They observe regulations suitable for sedentary peoples.

648 Let us note that there is no agricultural exploitation directed by Europeans in the Ahaggar. The principal reason for this abstention is the meager yield to be expected; the reduction

● 423

[For those aspects of land tenure relating specifically to the contractual agreement between landlord and tenant farmer, see category 675.]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

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614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Ṛali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Ṛali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taṛhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 555 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Ṛali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imanukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Ṛali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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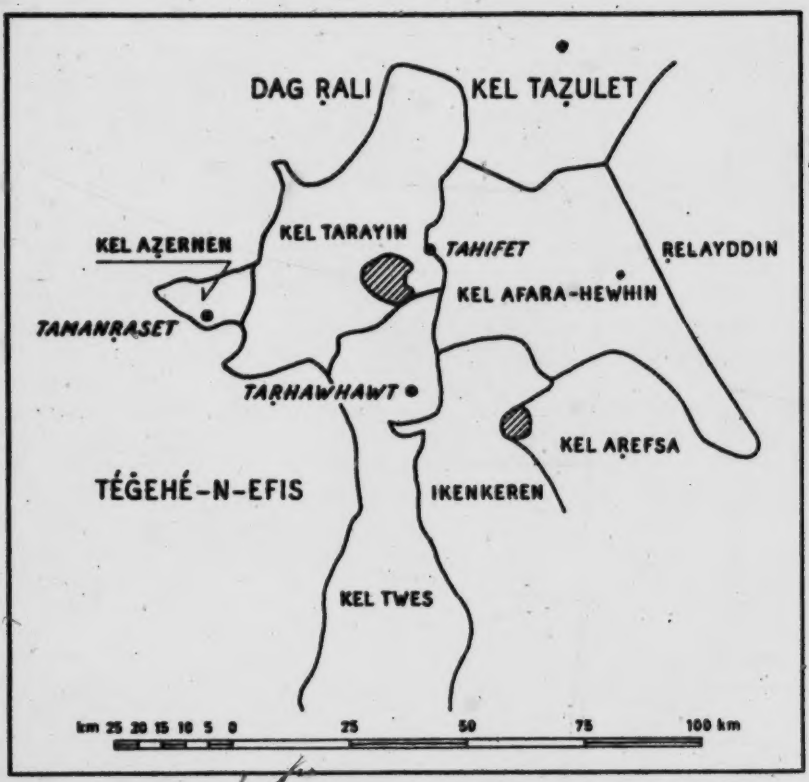

Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Afuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Afuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téğehé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Afuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Aẓernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamuṛaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Afuh-en-tehlé*. The *Afuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Ahada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

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Sub-areas of the territory of the Dag Ṛali tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Ṛali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*, (2) the *Imessiliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Teñhart*)

Tenants	Name and value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant	2 goats
YEḲI of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section	TAĠMART No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
AMMA of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	ARECHCHUM No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
KHABTÉ of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section & AKHASEN of the *Kel Terhenanet* section	I-N-DALAĠ Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
AFAREḲ of the *Kel Hérhafek* section	AKAL-EREṚEN Hunting of barbary sheep	Unknown
BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the *Kel Teñhart* section	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown)
[361] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet*	ABALESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements	No land-rent as the *Amenukal* receives dues for every garden in this area
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of *Kel Tamanṛaset* and *Kel Terhenanet* Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections	TEẒẒA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief)

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Sub-areas of the territory of the Aguh-en-tahlé tribe
(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named Kel *Taṛhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Aṛefsa*)

Tenants	Value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the *Amenukal*
SAMA ALATOKH, chief of the *Aguh-en-tahlé*, chief of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*, leader of the section *Kel Twes*	Cultivation grounds at Taṛhawhawt and I-n-dalaġ Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys for domestication	2 donkeys
OMAṆA, *khalifa* (leader) of the *Ikenkeren* section of the sub-tribe Kel *Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep Collecting of wild seeds	3 goats
ABERĠALI, *khalifa* of the *Kel Tarayin* section of the sub-tribe *Kel Taṛhawhawt*	Hunting of barbary sheep	2 goats
KHOFA of the *Kel Tarayin* section. No position as leader	Cultivation grounds at I-n-aġriwal and I-n-dalaġ. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys	2 donkeys
DEYNI, chief of the *Kel Aṛefsa* sub-tribe forming only one section	No particular value	No land-rent
AKAWALI, chief of the *Isandan* sub-tribe and leader of the *Kel Aforo-ha hin* section	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
HANU, *khalifa* of the *Kel Aṣernen* section of the *Isandan* sub-tribe	Cultivation grounds at Tamaṇṛaset In the past wild donkeys	1 donkey
KHOSENI, *khalifa* of the *Ḳelayddin* now attached to the *Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe	*Khoseni* is in command of the *Ḳelayddin* territory to which all members of the *Ḳelayddin* have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the *Amenukal*	

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzaṛ*, while a small camp is called *ḍṛéwen* or *tamezzak*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100–200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hareġen* (*or amezzaṛ n hareġen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *aharaġen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading. Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are harvested mainly by black-skinned *Ḥarratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar – mainly in Tamesna – and the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds, or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Ḥali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Ḥali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Ḥali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the *Amenukal*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum-group.

For the land-rent (*ehéré-n-amaḍal*) paid to the *Amenukal* the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

(3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My own information agrees with Lhoje's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

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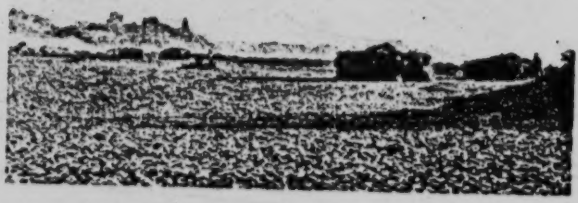

Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*ikehwan*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhet* tribe (*Inəkkemuren*).

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224 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 148).

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241 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dag Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dag Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

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643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant

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[428] dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally

613 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary

[114] sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

AYR

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233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property

[428] marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark. However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a redhot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *ájwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the

[118] *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

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outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional divisions of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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ajako. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élawɛ̧*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Ajakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *ékem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassaf*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149 a–b).

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Êherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
221 Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
342 their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tibeghin. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
● 423 (the sections of *Kel Tamanrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
665 *Ikechchemmaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
525 of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
651 belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
245 bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
221 Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
492 finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
564 and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
465 skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Iseggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates
463 for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

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Fig. 131. A *foggara* canal (*éfeli*) dug into the sandy river bed, from where it is led into the gardens of the valley terrace. Southern Ahaggar, *Tafaut*.

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In Ayr there are also a few pastoral Tuareg who own date palms growing in river valleys, e.g., people of the *Imezzureg* tribe of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group. These date palms, like those growing half wild in Northern Tuareg countries, yield very small dates of a quality inferior to those grown in the oases under constant supervision by agriculturists. Such dates are used only for local consumption.

IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AHAGGAR

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Irrigation agriculture has been practised since ancient times within certain territories now inhabited by the Northern Tuareg. As early as in Roman times there is reference to *Rodames*, *Rat*, and certain oases of the Fezzan, which were visited by Roman Expeditions (Lhote 1955a, p. 113 f.; Duveyrier 1864, p. 249 ff., 266 ff., 275 ff., 455 ff.). Lhote thinks that the oasis of Abalessa in the lowland west of the Ahaggar Massif was also visited by the Roman general Cornelius Balbus (Lhote 1955a, p. 88 f., 113 f., 286), but this, perhaps, is to be doubted. In the writings of Medieval Arab authors there is apparently no reference to oases within the Ahaggar country, though oases in neighbouring parts of the Sahara are mentioned.

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Fig. 137. The fresh soil carried to old gardens is placed in small heaps to be spread out between the tender plants of wheat and barley. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

241 *andrum sativum*, *Cuminum Cyminum* (*azkar*), *Daucus Carota* (*ezzeruǧet*), *Cucumis melo*, *Lagenaria vulgaris* (cf. Maire 1933, and particularly Maire 1940, p. 401).

245 In addition to the above-mentioned plants there are various types of fruit trees which do not play
262 any considerable rôle for food. The gardens contain very few date palm trees (*tazzayt*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) and there are no palm trees of any value in the gardens situated in the upper mountain
251 zones where the fig tree (*tahart*, *Ficus carica*) thrives much better than in the lower country; the figs are
386 consumed fresh, or they are put on strings for drying, common practise elsewhere in North Africa. The pomegranate (*terrummant*, *Punica Granatum*) is grown in some gardens; its fruits are eaten, and they are also used for dyeing skins (cf. p. 282). Grapes (*tezzebibt*, *Vitis vinifera*) are also grown in some gardens.

Maire mentions the cultivation of the peach (*Prunus Persica*) and the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*) (cf. Maire 1940, p. 401). These fruit trees have undoubtedly been quite recently introduced for Foucauld states that they are not grown in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 79 f.).

243 There are nowadays many agriculturists who have their private gardens so that they cultivate their
423 winter crops and their summer crops entirely for their own use. But most agriculturists grow winter crops of wheat and barley on behalf of the Tuareg who are then the true garden owners.

312 Agriculturists who cultivate their gardens on their own behalf frequently irrigate crops by means
476 of draught animals (zebus) which raise water from wells, but there are also some farmers who cultivate independently without any contract with pastoral Tuareg and nevertheless belong to a *foggara* team.

243 It can be estimated that an independently working agriculturist obtains a total yield of about 700 kilos of wheat and barley grown in winter. Of this yield he gives 10 kilos to the *Amenukal*, or to the

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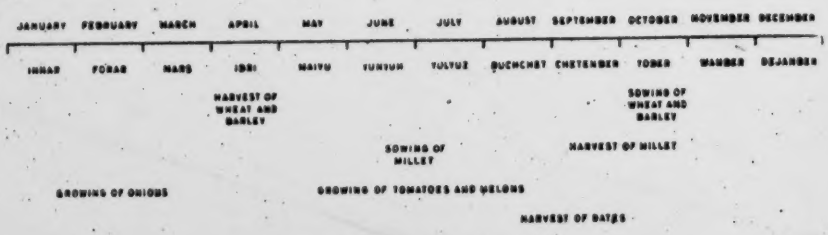

Fig. 139. Horticultural calendar from Ahaggar.

The Tuareg and the negroid agriculturists have a lunar calendar of twelve months corresponding to the Arab calendar, but a lunar calendar has no practical value for the indication of seasonal agricultural activities. The Julian Calendar is known to some people of Ahaggar as well as to other Berbers of the Sahara and the Atlas. Tuareg names of Julian months are given above. Very few people in Ahaggar know the exact beginning and the end of the twelve Julian months, but a few names are used as seasonal terms: *innar* = "midwinter", *mars* = "beginning of spring", *ibri* = "early harvest" (of wheat and barley), *maiyu* = "beginning of summer", *tober* = "late harvest" (millet).

which no definite figures can be given, while the yield of fruit trees growing in the garden plot does not necessarily belong to the agriculturist. These trees frequently belong to pastoral Tuareg.

I think it can be estimated that an agricultural household with its own garden produce about a thousand kilos of vegetables food products annually for its private use. We can add that though the members of an agricultural household live mainly on vegetable food products they also acquire a certain amount of food from livestock, which normally comprises a few goats and sheep, and perhaps one or two zebus. Conditions of stock-breeding are not always favourable to people who live continuously on the same spot, but it is advantageous to the agriculturists of Ahaggar, who live close to valleys with some pasture, that they are able to feed their animals on green garden products when pasture is badly developed and thus avoid the disaster of a drought. It is also an advantage to most agriculturists that they do not have to water their animals which can drink freely from the irrigation canals. The agriculturists can kill a few goats or sheep annually, they obtain milk and a little butter to be used mainly as a sauce for bread and porridge, and they make cheese of the *awles* type (cf. p. 224), but they never make cheese from fresh milk as do many pastoral Tuareg when milk is abundant. The agriculturists also breed fowls and pigeons, and some of them have an important meat supply from hunting with steel-traps (hares, jackals, fennecs, and ravens). Collecting, on the other hand, is of little or no value to irrigation farmers of Ahaggar.

The economic position of agriculturists who work without any particular obligations towards pastoral Tuareg is tolerably good. It is less favourable to those who grow winter crops also on behalf of the Tuareg, as do most cultivators. Some of them irrigate the garden plot with water raised from wells by oxen which may belong to the cultivator or to the Tuareg. But most agriculturists who work for the pastoral Tuareg irrigate by means of *foggara*. It is very strenuous work to dig a *foggara* canal, and co-operation is needed not only for this but also for the maintenance of the whole irrigation system. The gardens are individually tended by the agriculturists, who co-operate in the *foggara* work under the leadership of a headman known as *amɣar n efeli*, that is "chief of the *foggara*". This headman is

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appointed by the Tuareg garden owners and is rewarded by a garden of his own for his responsibility in supervising all co-operative work. The unit of agriculturists co-operating at the same *foggara* may or may not correspond to an extended family. The agriculturists co-operating on any large *foggara* irrigating ten or twelve gardens frequently represent two or three distinct families which are not linked to each other by kinship bonds. The cultivators of a *foggara* comprising nine gardens at Taṛhawhawt belong to three distinct, unrelated families. This is quite natural in view of the fact that contracts between the Tuareg and the cultivators are made individually.

There may also be no kinship bonds between the pastoral Tuareg who have gardens at the same foggara, and there are even Tuareg who own two or three gardens situated in widely separated river valleys of Ahaggar. But Tuareg garden owners of the same foggara frequently belong to the same tribe or even to the same tribal section. When a garden-owning Tuareg dies, his garden will generally pass to somebody within his family, but there seems to be no fixed rules governing the transference of gardens.

The individual contract between a Tuareg garden owner and his cultivator is made for a period of six months – the period of growth for wheat and barley. The agriculturist is responsible for all garden work, and the Tuareg garden owner has the following obligations:—

(1) To supply his cultivator with a hoe every year, or every two years in case a very good hoe is given.

(2) To pay for repairs of the *foggara* system, or for the digging of a new *foggara*. This payment is known as *almarsor* and consists of two kilos of cereals or dates every working day until water reaches the garden.

(3) To pay for the making of garden beds. This payment is known as *éhéré n egalab*, and is made only once as long as the garden remains on the same spot. When a garden is moved after a period of three or four years the payment must be made again. It varies with the size of the garden and the quality of its soil; in general it consists of 15–25 kilos of cereals.

Fig. 140. Millet (*énélé*) of very high growth. It is said that this particular millet type was introduced to Ahaggar from the south – possibly from Ayr. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

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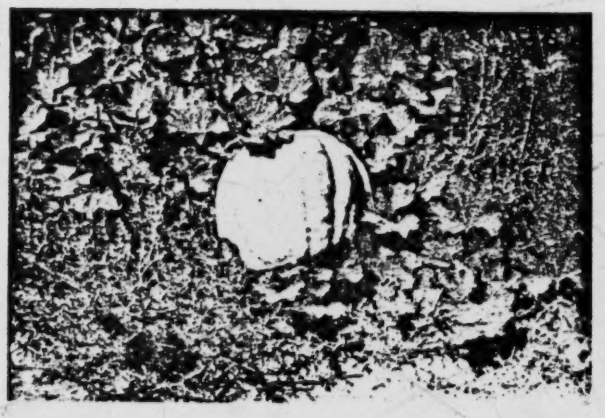

Fig. 141. The large gourd known as *kabuya* (*Cucurbita maxima*) growing close to the thorny fence (*aforaǧ*) which term is also generally used to designate a garden. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

Tuareg garden owners have other obligations besides those listed under these three items, but these obligations vary with the systems of contract of which there are three. One system is known as *khamast* according to which the agriculturists gets only one fifth of the crops. This system is widely found in North Africa but has disappeared in Ahaggar some years ago. It is said that it was abolished by the *Amenukal* because it very frequently gave rise to disputes between Tuareg garden owners and their cultivators. It is now replaced by two other systems, the *tilt* system allowing one third of the crops to the cultivator, and the *aṛil* system according to which crops are divided equally between the owner and the cultivator. This last system is that almost exclusively used in Ahaggar nowadays.

To revert to Tuareg obligations towards their cultivators, these obligations, in addition to those mentioned above, are as follows:—

(4) To hand over an amount of seed-corn (*téfest*) of wheat and barley according to the size of the garden plot and the system of contract. With a *khamast* agreement the Tuareg garden owner gives all seed-corn. With a *tilt* agreement half of the seed-corn is supplied by the owner, the other half by the cultivator who is then also allowed to cultivate a private garden. With an *aṛil* agreement half of the seed-corn is given by the garden owner, the other half by the cultivator who does not possess a private garden unless he is headman of a *foggara* (p. 196).

(5) To give an amount of food to the agriculturist during the cultivation period of six months. This payment is known as *tenafok*, and is fixed at 75 kilos of millet, barley, or dates when cultivation is done according to the *aṛil* system, while 150 kilos are given for cultivation according to agreements of the two systems *tilt* and *khamast*.

The net profit to an agriculturist who cultivates for a Tuareg garden owner is lower than that gained by an agriculturist cultivating exclusively for his own private use. This will be seen more clearly from the calculations below where a garden with an annual yield of 700 kilos wheat and barley is considered:—

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	Cultivator		*Tuareg Garden Owner*	
The khamast system	Receipts	Expenditure	Receipts	Expenditure
The *khamast* division	140 kg		560 kg	
Land rent		5 kg		5 kg
Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith		5 kg		5 kg
Seed-corn				50 kg
Food given to the cultivator	150 kg			150 kg
	290 kg	10 kg	560 kg	210 kg
Net profit	280 kg		350 kg	
The tilt system				
The tilt division	233 kg		466 kg	
Land rent		5 kg		5 kg
Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith		5 kg		5 kg
Seed-corn		25 kg		25 kg
Food given to the cultivator	150 kg			150 kg
	383 kg	35 kg	466 kg	185 kg
Net profit	348 kg		281 kg	
The aril system				
The *aril* division	350 kg		350 kg	
Land rent		5 kg		5 kg
Yield of one garden bed to blacksmith		5 kg		5 kg
Seed-corn		25 kg		25 kg
Food given to the cultivator	75 kg			75 kg
	425 kg	35 kg	350 kg	110 kg
Net profit	390 kg		240 kg	

A few notes should be added to these calculations of receipts and expenditure in the three systems. Thus the profit of the cultivator in all three systems is somewhat bigger than is indicated. The hoe is given by the Tuareg garden owner, who must also make certain payments for irrigation work and for the making of new garden beds as mentioned above. The garden owner's net profit in kilogrammes is consequently somewhat lower than indicated, but it should be mentioned that payments made by a Tuareg garden owner are hardly ever made in wheat and barley, but mainly in millet and dates which are less valuable, particularly so because the pastoral Tuareg acquire millet and dates at very low prices during their caravan expeditions (cf. p. 209 ff.). Therefore, the profit made by a Tuareg garden owner cannot so easily be given in kilogrammes of agricultural food products. It is evident that all three systems are profitable to the Tuareg, and it is clear that an agriculturist who cultivates a garden entirely on his own behalf is better off than an agriculturist who works for the Tuareg. It is also evident that to the agriculturist the *khamast* system is less profitable than the *tilt* system, which again is less profitable than the *aril* system. With the abolishment of the *khamast* system the agriculturists now

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obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable for them to be garden owners.

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat, and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited almost exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came

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643 *amenu* + (*a*)*kal*, "*amenu* of the country". The first part may be the now extinct sing. of *Imenan*, the original meaning of which is unknown ("princes"?); this agrees with Foucauld's statement that normally *Amenukal* is used as sing. of *Imenan*, meaning *iyen dar-Menan*" = "one of the *Imenan* tribe" (Prasse, verbal information). My own view is that though the title may perhaps refer to *akal* [423] meaning "land" it is to be doubted whether it contains the meaning of "ownership". It is evident, as pointed out recently by Briggs, that an *Amenukal* as a supreme chief does not own the land in any ordinary sense, but rather owns it as a representative of the whole community (cf. Briggs 1958, p. 88). However, many Tuareg of the south do not connect the word *Amenukal* with "*akal*", and even in the past when the supreme *Amenukal* of the *Imenan* reigned over the Northern Tuareg, he apparently did not have the supreme command of the whole country. When Duveyrier stayed among the *Kel* 173 *Ajjer*, the country of these Tuareg was divided between certain noble tribes. This division was said 631 to have taken place in the following way:— The first Tuareg who settled in Tasilé-n-Ajjer were the 614 *Imenan* and the *Ifoγas*, while other tribes immigrated at a later date. It happened one day in the past that the supreme chief of the *Imenan* summoned the noble women who had sons with rights of succession to chieftainship, and to each of these women he alloted a particular territory as their apanage. Thus the noble woman of the *Uraγen* tribe was given the valley of Iγarγaren, while the noble woman of the *Imanγasaten* tribe gained the valley of Tekhammalt (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 323). According to this popular account the land of the *Kel Ajjer* was divided between noble tribes even at a time when 175 the supreme chief of the *Imenan*, the *Amenukal*, was the supreme ruler of the *Kel Ajjer*. In Duveyrier's 631 days the important land-holding tribes among the *Kel Ajjer* seem to have been the *Imenan* in the 614 Tasilé around Ganet, the *Uraγen* north of the Tasilé Mountains around the valley of Iγarγaren, the *Imanγasaten* east of the *Uraγen*, and finally the *Ifoγas* who lived in the region south and southwest [566] of Radames. The *Ifoγas* Tuareg were then, as to-day, held in high esteem because of their position as *Ineslemen*. They also claimed themselves to be noble by origin. They had no vassals attached to them, but one of the *Ifoγas* tribes had territorial rights around Radames, and it had the right to dues [631] from all foreign caravans passing through the country. Other land-holding tribes possessed the same rights for their particular territories, and their members (i.e., apparently their chiefs) at certain seasons camped around the caravan roads leading through their country to collect dues from caravan [643] traders (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff., 359 ff.). The *Kel Ajjer* country in Duveyrier's days was divided between various noble tribes, and the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Ajjer group*, the chief of the *Uraγen*, had no rights over the whole country as such.

565 The noble Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* had rights over certain vassal tribes which did not necessarily 614 live within the territory of the noble tribe to which they were attached. Duveyrier tells us so much 642 of this vassalage that it is possible to outline the main structure of this very interesting political institution.

The noble tribes which had particular rights over vassals were the *Uraγen*, the *Imenan*, and the *Imanγasaten*. The last-mentioned tribe remained loyal to the ancient rulers of the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Imenan*, to whom they constituted a sort of armed guard in the past. The *Imanγasaten* were in opposition to the *Uraγen* but the latter tribe was very powerful because of its direct authority over most vassal tribes. In all 17 vassal tribes or tribal sections were commanded by the *Uraγen*, while the *Imenan*,

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Inegqedézen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubaz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only